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29 December 1980

Japan Report

(FOUO 35/80)



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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'JAPAN TIMES' RAPS SUZUKI'S STAND ON ARMS BUDGET

OW150126 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 14 Dec 80 pp 1, 4

["Our Times" column by Masaru Ogawa: "Japan's Role as Ally"]

[Text] Japan's awareness of its responsible role as a member of the Western Alliance was placed under grave scrutiny last week when U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown paid a farewell courtesy call on Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki.

The visiting defense secretary was hopeful that Japan would not fail to achieve the goal set in August by the Suzuki cabinet of increasing the nation's defense spending for fiscal '81 by 9.7 percent over the present budget.

He indicated his understanding this would be the minimum target. In fact, he hoped it would actually be expanded further in view of the increased global tensions caused by the recent and ongoing crisis in Poland, in addition to the continuing Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and its extensive military buildup.

This sense of urgency, however, seems lost on Prime Minister Suzuki who argued that it would be extremely difficult for Japan to attain the 9.7 percent goal for the '81 budget. He explained that there was a need to maintain a balance between defense spending and other essential requirements, such as social welfare and education.

He saw priority, moreover, in reducing the mounting fiscal deficit caused by the floating of government bonds to enable the nation to live beyond its means, which could also be interpreted as a failure of past cabinets to call on the people to shoulder a heavier tax burden.

But there is obviously a difference of views whether the 9.7 percent increase fixed by the Suzuki cabinet represents the "ceiling" or the "minimum limit." Even more serious is the wide gap in perception between the U.S. concern for the global interests of the free democratic nations and its efforts to stem aggression by strengthening the free world alliance, and Japan's narrow, inward-looking anxiety over its fiscal difficulties and its domestic need to keep "defense" in balance with "welfare and education."

On the latter point, Secretary Brown is reported to have said with some sarcasm that the choice before Japan is not between "cannons" and "butter," but rather between "cannons" and "caviar."

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The fact is, of course, that the U.S. and other NATO nations are all facing difficulties and making sacrifices to meet the crisis caused by recent Soviet actions and threats. As a member of the Western Alliance, Japan can do no less. And surely, it is better prepared economically than other nations to do so.

It should be pointed out first that the late Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira at his summit meeting with President Jimmy Carter last May promised to move up the completion of the defense agency's five-year plan ('80-'84) to modernize the self-defense forces by one year. He also said at the time that Japan would "steadily" upgrade its military preparedness and that the answer would be given in the budget for '81.

A second point which should not be overlooked is that the 9.7 percent increase for the fiscal '81 budget was reached by the Suzuki cabinet itself with the prime minister giving approval to placing the defense expenditures in a special category.

Now, with surprising suddenness, Suzuki has reversed his position. His reason is not clear, but it is conjectured that he wants to head off criticism, mainly from the leftist opposition. He apparently has little confidence in the Diet majority given by the people at the last election to his Liberal-Democratic Party.

And if public opinion is a factor, one must ask whether a prime minister must always follow what he believes to be the prevailing mood. Is it not the role of a leader in a high place to persuade and convince the people to support his policies--which in this instance would be to strengthen the nation's capability to defend itself and to fulfill its obligations as a member of the free world alliance?

Prime Minister Suzuki's argument that a balance must be kept with social welfare spendings is also not convincing when the total defense expenditure is only one-fourth of that committed to welfare. This is a result of many years of neglect in paying proper attention to national defense, a situation which this year's defense white paper has vividly described.

This is all the more reason why Prime Minister Suzuki should stand by his earlier pledge to treat defense in a special category and thereby fulfill also the promise made by his predecessor and political patron, the late Prime Minister Ohira.

Incidentally, a study group formed by Ohira reached the conclusion, which was made known after his death, that Japan should increase its defense spending by 20 percent annually to reach a moderate level of preparedness.

The prime minister did say, however, he will make every effort to reach the 9.7 percent target. This is not an impossible task since it is equivalent to some 216.3 yen billion (about \$1 billion). In past years, when the opposition parties wielded greater clout, the government accepted their revision proposals for income tax cuts involving even larger sums.

By meeting this modest goal, Japan will be at least partially meeting the needs of its allies. But equally important is that this nation will be demonstrating its will and determination to defend itself.

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As Secretary Brown and the nation's emissaries sent to the U.S. have pointed out, the incoming Reagan Administration will not differ from its predecessor in hoping to see Japan improve its defense capabilities together with its allies.

It makes better sense to step forward than to be pushed--especially when Japan will be an important beneficiary.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

NEWSPAPERS' VIEWS ON SUZUKI'S ELECTION TO LDP PRESIDENCY

'ASAHI' Comments

OW011021 Tokyo ASAHI EVENING NEWS in English 29 Nov 80 p 5

[ASAHI SHIMBUN 28 November editorial: "Suzuki's Policies"]

[Text] Prime Minister Suzuki was elected president of the Liberal-Democratic Party in the Extraordinary Party Convention on November 27. This means that he will govern the country for the next two years.

In his speech to the convention, Suzuki said that he was determined to tackle the problem of reconstructing the state finances, and that preparing for this was the most important task facing his government. This task will test his worth as prime minister and party president.

In the over four months since he assumed power, Suzuki has repeatedly talked about "politics of consensus"--a concept that no one can object to. The problem, however, is how this concept is related to the actual policies of the government.

Many people feel that Suzuki has been overly influenced by members of his cabinet and by the LDP. They find it difficult to determine precisely what the position of his government is. The attitude of the prime minister with respect to such major problems as constitutional amendment and strengthening the nation's defenses, both of which have been advocated by the minister of justice, Seisuke Okuno, has aroused questions as to his capacity for leadership.

Suzuki's position has now been officially established, but there have been several disturbing developments--the moves, for example, in connection with the compilation of the fiscal 1981 budget, and particularly the problem of reducing the issuance of deficit-covering government bonds.

Suzuki is determined to reduce the issuance of government bonds by 2,000,000 million yen and is encouraging discussions between NIE government and LDP leaders. He wants them to work out a rough draft of the budget, and sees these discussions as replacing the previous way of compiling the budget. Because, however, of the LDP's overwhelming victory in the double elections for the Diet, there is a strong body of opinion in the LDP in favor of increasing expenditure so that election promises can be kept, and opposed to the budget being compiled as Suzuki would like.

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Leaving aside the dispute over how the budget should be compiled, it has to be pointed out that reducing the issuance of government bonds by 2,000,000 million yen and reconstructing the state finances are not only the biggest political tasks facing Suzuki--they are a national problem. Suzuki must take the lead in seeing that these tasks are accomplished. The responsibility of the prime minister is all the greater now that the opposition parties are not in a position to make a stand against the government.

Another disturbing development is the resumption of activities, with an eye to the constitution of the next government, by the LDP factions. The readmittance of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to the party is being openly discussed, and even the Suzuki faction has decided to resume activities; it is very unusual for the president's faction to openly proclaim that it is resuming activities.

Suzuki's Government was formed with the intention of uniting the party by preserving a balance among the factions. Consequently, it has to pay close attention to the situation within the party and maintain cooperative relations with the powerful Tanaka and Takeo Fukuda factions. If, however, Suzuki concerns himself only with preserving a party consensus so that he can retain power and neglects to pursue proper policies, public support will decrease even more. Leadership should go beyond getting a consensus at the party level.

Suzuki must also make a decision in connection with the public pledge to establish political morality. The establishment of a Diet "ethics committee" was shelved in the Extraordinary Diet Session, and the people are hardly likely to consider the approval of a party code of ethics by the LDP convention an acceptable alternative.

In his speech as the LDP's presidential candidate, Suzuki promised to encourage the "spirit of energy and self-help" and to bring about the creation of "a society in which people show consideration for others." These words should be remembered.

'MAINICHI' Comments

OW011035 Tokyo MAINICHI DAILY NEWS in English 30 Nov 80 p 2

[Editorial: "Capability of Suzuki"]

[Text] Frankly speaking, we have been quite uneasy about the leadership of our Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki during the past four months. We have been unable to determine whether or not he is dependable as the man holding the topmost position in the nation. Even today, we cannot say for certain that he is in the right position.

Reelected as president of the Liberal-Democratic Party at the party's Extraordinary Convention on November 27, he will be at the helm of government for another two years. It is most unlikely that a general election will be held during the two-year period and the Suzuki cabinet will remain in office that long.

At the outset of the 1980's this nation is saddled with many knotty problems both at home and abroad, and things are changing at a rapid tempo. In truth, we doubt if Prime Minister Suzuki can weather the difficulties ahead.

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His four-month-long achievement as prime minister has not necessarily been satisfactory to the nation. It is true that he has successfully gone through the extra Diet sessions with his keen sense of personnel affairs and mediation, while rallying behind him the rank and file of the party, at least on the surface. One might say that the LDP has enjoyed an unusual lull in a storm after so many years of petty intraparty wrangling.

Regrettable to say, the LDP under President Suzuki has failed to demonstrate which way it is determined to go. In his recent administrative speech, the prime minister emphasized the importance of: 1) establishment of political ethics and enforcement of discipline among government officials, 2) administrative reform, and 3) reconstruction of fiscal policies. He stressed the same things Thursday upon being reelected as party president. Truly, it appears that speech is one thing and deeds another.

Each one of the three issues requires undaunted determination and relentless efforts on his part. We knew that he could not live up to the full expectations of the nation, but still we hoped that he would at least take a step or two toward solving them. He has simply bowed to pressure from within the party. He has been so nervous about the possible reaction of the bureaucrats and opposition parties that he has failed to assume the initiative on reforming the administrative setup. His slogan for establishment of political ethics seems a thing of the past.

The stance taken by Suzuki in the course of the recent debate on the revision of the constitution is a case in point that illustrates his self-inconsistency. As the prime minister of the nation, Suzuki declared he had no intention to revise the constitution, while at the same time he was quoted as saying, as party president, that discussions on the issue within the party should be quite free. It would do well for him to remember that his ostensibly flexible manner in this instance will be regarded as irresponsible. No wonder that the popular support for the prime minister has dropped radically, as witnessed by the outcome of various public opinion polls conducted recently. This drop in support tells most eloquently on the unsteady ground on which the Suzuki cabinet stands.

Now that he has been reelected as party president, we call on the prime minister to devote his whole energy to the compilation of the fiscal 1981 budget. He should take the bull by the horns in fulfilling his public pledge to "reduce the flotation of the national bonds by two trillion yen." This is perhaps the only way for him to recover his lost credibility.

The international situation is very fluid. This country is under heavy foreign pressure in many fields. How is he going to cope with the new circumstances? We hope that he will not lose international prestige by his "tottering" stance. Why not show the world the strength of the Suzuki diplomacy? It is true that he cannot do a thing without the support of the government party, but he will find himself unable to carry out his conviction if he cares about the harmony of the party more than necessary.

The all-out party support for Suzuki, as voiced at the party rally, was only nominal. He is certainly in a tough position, but he must face up to his "enemies within the party" boldly. Otherwise, he would be digging his own grave.

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'SUZUKI-STYLE' RIGHTIST MOVEMENT EXAMINED

Tokyo SHUKAN ASAHI in Japanese 19 Sep 80 pp 16-22

[Article by Fumio Ikeuchi and Harufumi Nakano]

[Text] Justice Minister Okuno, a well-known member of the hawk faction, has again advocated "constitutional revision." With the Japan Socialist Party [JSP], which proclaims preservation of the "peace constitution" as its main slogan, as chief instigator, opposition parties one after another are demanding the dismissal of the justice minister. Heretofore, the justice minister would have been removed after apologizing and retracting his statement, but conditions have changed and the incident is taking an unexpected turn. The hidden aim of the justice minister's statement and the "Suzuki style" rightist tilt smell of clever trickery by old and crafty men.

Justice Minister Okuno Proudly Asserts He Broke "Taboo Against Talk of Constitutional Revision"

It is claimed that the Suzuki cabinet is referred to as the "free speech cabinet." It is true that ministers in this cabinet are unsophisticated and talk freely. If they are reprimanded for talking too much, they retort that their "speech is being muzzled." It appears that officials like Justice Minister Okuno, who flatly challenged the opposition parties with the long-awaited statement about constitutional revision, are singing the praises of free speech.

On 3 September, on a TV program on a commercial station, Okuno made a statement to the effect that "he wanted to withhold further comments," and finally appeared to be restraining himself. But during an interview with this periodical, he was again carried away with words. Although somewhat too lengthy, the questions and answers with Okuno are presented herewith.

--Frankly, we thought you would refuse to hold the interview, since you claimed you would not comment further on constitutional revision.

"I have always thought that debates on the constitution should be actively carried on in the Diet. I feel that the common belief that simply discussing the constitution is a violation of Article 99 must be straightened out. Therefore I said so when I was questioned in the committee. Look at what happened then. The mass media began to say that it was wrong to dismiss me simply on the basis of my reply. Personally, I think that I carried out my responsibility as a politician."

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--After becoming a minister, were you planning someday to raise the problem concerning debates about constitutional revision?

"That is not true. On this occasion, I simply replied because I was questioned. However, since the opposition parties immediately demanded my dismissal, I thought I had better straighten out the matter now. At first, even the mass media stated: 'Why aren't the other opposition parties (following the JSP) demanding my dismissal?' But didn't the mass media (after my refutation) begin to change their attitude? That is the only reason why I said I did my duty."

--At the Judicial Affairs Committee meeting of the House of Representatives on 27 August, you replied that since the present constitution was drafted on orders from the Occupation Army, discussions on revisions were desirable. Some are pointing out that this statement is not factual.

"That is incorrect. You youngsters are simply uninformed of the facts. At the time, the Japanese Government tried to draft its own constitution and even chose the minister to be in charge, but the Occupation Army disapproved. The present constitution is one which is based on a draft prepared by the Occupation Army. The Germans claimed that it was not wise to change the constitution under occupation and did nothing at all. As [Germany] is a country that has repeatedly experienced victories and defeats, it is well versed on that score. Since this was her first defeat, Japan acted as ordered by the Occupation Army. There were some who resisted, but it was a period when opposition to occupation policies was not possible."

--Did you shed tears at the Judicial Affairs Committee meeting because you recalled the anguish of being suppressed by the Occupation Army?

"That was involuntary. I was just remembering that 'I was lucky I survived' despite my resistance to the Occupation Army. Although we strived to make Japan better prior to, during, and after World War II, our efforts are not correctly understood. Why is there direct opposition to an independent constitution? Perhaps only those who underwent experiences such as I did will understand. After World War II, even the educational system was absorbed by occupation policies."

--You keep pointing out the pressure of the Occupation Army, but to us the post-World War II generation, the constitution seems to be a fairly good one.

"The Occupation Army took steps to make the Japanese believe they drafted the constitution. I am surprised at how well we have managed till now."

--If the drafting of the constitution had posed such a problem, wasn't there an opportunity to revise it when Japan became independent 30 years ago?

"At that time, it was better not to make any changes. There was a danger that old pre-World War II problems would rear their heads. Now that 35 years have gone by since the war, things have settled down and one can make better decisions."

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--In other words, the time has arrived when an objective appraisal of constitutional revisions can be made.

"At least, rigid confrontations are disappearing, but not completely, I think. For example, at the Bar Association Hall, there is a banner with a slogan opposing revision of the juvenile law. This is still a direct confrontation."

--Are you making any plans as to which part of the constitution should be revised and in what manner?

"Those who believe that the constitution should be revised should present concrete proposals. I have broken the trend of popular belief that those who make such suggestions should be fired."

--However, you are a member of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] Diet Association for an Independent Constitution.

"I am not the state minister in charge of revising the constitution, and I wish to avoid any talk that would create new arguments. Presently, the government should neither push nor suppress this issue. Comments are not in order now."

--But at the previously mentioned Judicial Affairs Committee, you gave your opinions on Article 9. Isn't Article 9 the target?

"Interpretation of Article 9 by the LDP and the JSP are 180 degrees apart. The LDP claims that the Self-Defense Forces [SDF] can be maintained under the present constitution, while the JSP says they cannot. In this situation, great confusion will result if there is a change in political regimes. Therefore, I think this article should be redrafted."

--I think that if there is any article about which both parties would not disagree as to interpretation, it would be the one which clearly states that military power should be maintained. But what would be the national reaction? Public opinion polls by newspapers show that the people have come to accept Article 9.

"To accomplish this is a terrific task, and I do not believe it is possible within the next several years. However, even the opposition parties are gradually changing. The time has come when even the JSP has shelved its nonarmament neutralist argument. At any rate, even for this matter, discussions should be held on constitutional revisions. Without discussions, there is no progress."

Table 1. Public Opinion Poll

Are you in favor of or opposed to revising the constitution so that Japan can formally maintain military forces?

	November 1955	August 1962	October 1978
In favor	37	26	15
Opposed	42	61	71
Others, No response	21	13	14

ASAHI SHIMBUN public opinion polls (figures in percent)

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"I Will Neither Evade Nor Hide From Diet Interpolations"

--There is a strong tendency to link your constitutional revision statements with the recent movement to strengthen self-defense capability.

"I only expressed my personal thoughts. I have never had prior consultations with the prime minister. As far as national self-defense is concerned, one should protect one's country with one's strength, but military power alone is not enough. If the people do not care what happens to their country, then...."

--What was the reaction, both in and out of the party, to the recent incident? It seems that within a segment of the party, there is a feeling that this might be the cause of another Diet turmoil.

"I have strong encouragement within the party. They want me to follow my principles. Isn't a politician neglecting his duties if he is afraid to say something because he might create confusion in the Diet? Until now, it was taboo to touch upon this problem. I personally tackled the problem."

--When you were education minister in Tanaka's cabinet, you were already labeled a hawkish element, but do you yourself think you are a rightist-leaning politician?

"It is wrong to try to evaluate a person by labels. That is an infringement upon people's rights. I believe that a politician is a person who says what is necessary for the people's good. To be understood, it is necessary to use colloquial language instead of legal terminology. Because of that, my speech is sometimes taken as bombastic."

--By the way, after this if you are asked to interpolate in the Diet, what are you going to do?

"I will neither evade nor hide. I intend to appear without hesitation and speak my piece."

As can be noticed from the foregoing, Mr Okuno has shown no indication that he is reflecting upon his recent "problematical statement." Rather, it would be more correct to say that he is gloating over the development that "he finally broke the taboo." Even Seiichi Inaba (JSP), who by luring Okuno into making the constitutional revision statement should have felt that he one-upped him, was aghast and remarked: "He is a victim of overconfidence. If you let him talk, you'll fall into his stratagem. At the next Diet session, we expect to zero in on the prime minister as the principal target."

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Table 2. Statements by Successive Prime Ministers Regarding the Constitution

Prime Minister Yoshida: "Constitutional revision is not a simple matter and should not be carried out lightly. Even if revision were decided upon, various studies should be made and time should be spent to gain the full understanding of the people." (9 March 1954, at the Upper House Budget Committee)

Prime Minister Hatoyama: "The start of any alterations of occupation policies is, first of all, the start of constitutional revision. Particularly, revision of Article 9 is necessary. There is no country without defensive power." (19 December 1954, while headed for his first political lecture trip after taking over the government)

Prime Minister Kishi: "To revise the constitution, widespread discussions are necessary, and it is my desire to consider the criticism of various circles and public opinion in order to prepare an independent constitution." (8 March 1957, Lower House Budget Committee)

Prime Minister Ikeda: "Even if a decision is made by the Constitutional Study Committee to revise the constitution, no revision will be made unless practically all of the people approve." (9 September 1960 in Osaka during political tour)

Prime Minister Sato: "A segment of the populace is advocating constitutional revision. This factor cannot be disregarded. However, the people's support cannot be won if a call for revision is suddenly made now." (8 February 1971, Lower House Budget Committee)

Prime Minister Tanaka: "I am not presently considering the question of constitutional revision. Revision is not possible without the people's consensus or the approval of the great majority of the populace." (7 June 1973, Lower House Cabinet Committee)

Prime Minister Miki: "The Miki cabinet has no plans to revise the constitution. I want to make this point, at least, clear." (2 April 1975, Upper House Budget Committee)

Prime Minister Fukuda: "I want to state clearly that the present constitution will be strictly preserved until the very end." (9 May 1978, full session of Lower House)

Prime Minister Ohira: "I have not noticed any public support for revision. I believe that one should be cautious about planning anything with constitutional revision in mind." (5 June 1979, Upper House Cabinet Committee)

Prime Minister Suzuki: "The Suzuki cabinet has no plans whatsoever for any constitutional revision. I judge and believe that the basic concepts of peace, democracy, and respect for fundamental human rights which permeate the constitution are excellent and outstanding as compared with the constitution of any other country." (7 September 1980, national LDP summer orientation meeting)

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"Suzuki Style" of Hiding His True Intentions and Watching Public Reaction by Letting Cabinet Ministers Speak

There have been a number of cases up till now in which cabinet ministers have made inappropriate remarks concerning constitutional revision. However, it is unusual for the official concerned to assume such a strong attitude. For example, in February 1968, Kuraishi, then the minister of agriculture and forestry, said at a press interview: "In the preamble of the present constitution it states: 'Trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world...' but this is reliance upon others. From now on we cannot depend upon others, as Priest Shinran preached, and we must be self-reliant."

"Japan, possessing a stupid constitution such as this, is like a mistress."

Such irresponsible remarks were made, and after a Diet suspension of half a month, [Kuraishi] resigned. Incidents such as this have taken place.

At the time, the Diet was in session on budget deliberations, and partly because the government and the LDP could not take a tough attitude against the opposition parties, Kuraishi was sorely embarrassed. He was even chastised by the Jodo Shinshu Honganji religious sect (West Honganji temple) which said: "Slander of sect founder Priest Shinran cannot be tolerated."

In May 1975, the attendance of Justice Minister Inaba (Osamu) at a constitutional revision meeting became a problem. Furthermore, regarding the issue, Inaba stated in the Diet: "I am an advocate of constitutional revision. There are many faults in the present constitution." Because he revealed this long-standing belief, Diet deliberations were suspended for about 2 weeks. Eventually, Inaba too was forced to retract his statement about the defective constitution.

In Okuno's case, how will he be treated? On 2 September the various opposition parties simultaneously issued statements indicating their intention to strongly press the issue, including [calling for] the ouster of Justice Minister Okuno. However, as shown by Okuno's confident assertions in the interview with this periodical, it is extremely doubtful that the opposition parties can bring about his dismissal. First, the Diet power relationship between the ruling and opposition parties, which had been evenly matched until recently, had changed. Aides close to Prime Minister Suzuki say: "The justice minister's statement should not be taken up as a problem." (Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa)

They have repeatedly responded with a firm attitude, and the underlying main reason is the "absolute majority" of the LDP in the Diet.

Okuno has had no peer when it comes to uttering irresponsible statements and making slips of the tongue. As minister of education in Tanaka's cabinet, he constantly criticized the Japan Teachers' Union.

"Teachers who like politics should become politicians."

"I cannot believe that teachers are the same as sewage disposal workers."

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"Teachers' unions are not recognized in the USSR."

He has a record of such indiscreet remarks.

Since Miki's cabinet, he had not been given any significant position and was not in the limelight to make noticeable imprudent statements. "He has already done it. He was probably itching to say something" (statement of a certain minister in the mainstream faction).

When forming his cabinet, the prime minister must have taken into full consideration Okuno's habit of making slips of the tongue. If so, he is partly responsible for Okuno's recent series of statements. In fact, some claim that he is not partly but fully responsible. The basis for that claim is this:

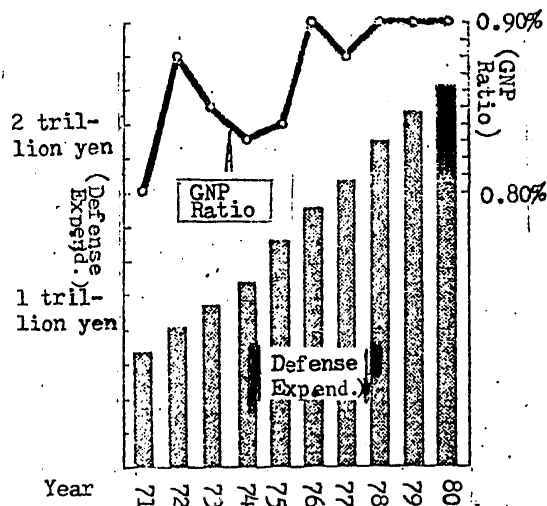


Figure 1. Trend of Japan's defense-related expenditures (base = initial budget)

Secret Talks With the Prime Minister About Some Item the Day Before the Statement?

The day before 2 September, when Okuno criticized the opposition parties on a commercial station TV program by saying that "demanding dismissal is a threat and a denial of free speech," Okuno actually talked directly over the phone with the prime minister and the cabinet secretary. (However, both officials deny this fact.) Okuno asserted that he wanted to explain his recent statements at the cabinet meeting on 2 September, but the prime minister and the cabinet secretary convinced him that, "if all of Okuno's statements were construed as the justice minister's, the problem would become complicated."

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The real problem is that there is no indication the justice minister was admonished by the prime minister for his statements about constitutional revision. Since then, Okuna has only escalated his statements about constitutional revisions. Eventually, with respect to the movement to preserve the constitution, he maintained: "I am beginning to suspect they are trying to destroy the basic principles of the constitution, which protects free society."

"This is the Suzuki style." So states a certain leader of the LDP mainstream faction. In other words, he permits those who want to talk to express themselves freely, but he never reveals his own true intentions. Actually, on 8 September, at the national LDP summer orientation meeting held in Hakone, Prime Minister Suzuki stated: "The Suzuki cabinet has no plans whatsoever to revise the constitution." However, what if Okuno's statements are all part of the "Zenko [Suzuki] strategy?" If so, that would explain the rapid succession of speeches and events following the inauguration of the Suzuki cabinet in July--special allocations for defense expenditures, arming SDF aircraft and ships with live ammunition, state support of the Yasukuni Grand Shrine, and criminal law revisions, including preventive security measures, etc.

Gradual Preparation for Rightist Movement Aimed at Security Treaty Revision and Overseas Dispatch of Troops

First of all, with regard to the problem of state support of the Yasukuni Grand Shrine, the Yasukuni Shrine Law," which could not be dealt with in an evenly matched Diet ever since the law was defeated by the Upper House in 1974, suddenly surfaced again. Furthermore, on 15 August some 18 cabinet ministers, including the prime minister, made an unprecedented group visit to worship at the shrine.

Concerning the SDF issue, on 15 August, while memorial services for the war dead were being conducted at various places throughout the country, the Ground Self-Defense Force began its first large-scale war games on the pretext that "Hokkaido was under tension." Three days later, on 18 August, the Air Self-Defense Force announced that it would arm interceptor aircraft with live missiles. To follow up, on 19 August the Maritime Self-Defense Force revealed that, starting sometime around September it would begin to arm naval ships and antisubmarine patrol aircraft with live ammunition and torpedoes.

These successive responses by the Ground, Maritime, and Air Self-Defense Forces to situations of stress and the posture to increase preparations for war, together with the decision to make special allocations for defense expenditures, deepen the impression that the Suzuki regime has noticeably leaned toward strengthening self-defense capabilities. Above all, in the formulation of the JFY 1981 budget, defense-related budget request estimates were considered special allocations, and there was a 9.7-percent increase over the previous year's original budget. This special measure (other budget items were increased by about 7.5 percent) reflected the persistent demands by the United States upon Japan to strengthen its defense capability, but since the Suzuki cabinet considers financial reconstruction as one of its primary tasks, it highlights the "interest" of the cabinet in bolstering defense power.

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Even Chairman Sasaki of the Democratic Socialist Party, which is said to be the closest to the LDP in political policies concerning national security and defense, criticized the measure as illegal and self-justified politics, and revealed his concern about heading toward militarism.

This "aggressive attitude" toward strengthening defense capabilities may be very well, but on 26 August, seizing the opportunity of the shock created by the Shinjuku bus arson incident, Justice Minister Okuno revealed at the cabinet meeting his policy of speedy implementation of overall revisions of the criminal law, including the introduction of preventive security measures. Although this might have been a remark made "off the top of one's head" by a cabinet minister, active legal circles take the stern view that "it reveals one aspect of the hawkish character of the LDP."

The preventive security measure was the "showpiece" of the criminal law revision draft proposed in 1974 by the Judicial Deliberation Council (advisory organ of the justice minister) against the opposition of various circles, including law, mental health, mass media, etc. Those who opposed the revision felt that the proposal was shot through with ideas of heavy punishment, that it emphasized law enforcement, that it gave priority to security maintenance, and that it was a "symbol" which refuted the concepts of human rights in the present constitution.

Taboo Against Constitutional Revision Stemmed From Ikeda's "Low Posture"

The "prorightist" statements of the LDP are not confined to the foregoing. Prior to Justice Minister Okuno's "constitutional revision statement," LDP Secretary General Sakurachi revealed at a public lecture in Tokyo on 19 August that he was in favor of constitutional revision. He referred to the Imperial Rescript on Education of prewar days and highly praised it saying: "Reading it again now, we still think that it is excellent." At a cabinet meeting in late July, Justice Minister Okuno stated: "Postwar instructional materials are lacking in the one facet of nurturing a patriotic spirit." Then in August, Michita Sakata, chairman of the Lower House Special Committee on Security, is said to have critically questioned Education Ministry officials as follows: "Do you have any plans to create a university or university department to conduct research on security maintenance problems?" Even the Education Ministry administration is being affected by the prorightist tendency.

In this apparent "installment plan" prorightist "cyclonic movement," the center of the eye appears to be the "constitutional revision statements" by Secretary General Sakurachi and Justice Minister Okuno. It is claimed that these statements reveal the true intentions of the LDP politicians. Since its formation as a political party in November 1955, the LDP's party platform has advocated an "independent revision of the present constitution." The reason it could not accomplish this aim previously lies in the fact that, as former Prime Minister Tanaka states (refer to Table 2): "Unless the great majority of the people consent, revisions cannot be made." This situation has continued; this tendency can be seen by referring to Table 1.

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This has been the trend, but during the days of Prime Minister Hatoyama, who pledged constitutional revision with the joint public agreement of conservative elements, and Prime Minister Kishi, who considered revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty to be his greatest political task, there had been an aggressive attitude toward constitutional revision. However, since the days of Prime Minister Ikeda, following the treaty revisions, public opinion was not favorable and the LDP faced a long period of decline. Especially after the ruling and opposition parties became well balanced in the Diet, it became taboo even to mention constitutional revision.

Okuno's statement was a challenge to the "period of supremacy of factions protecting the constitution" which had prevailed since Ikeda's cabinet. However, the evenly matched Diet is not the only reason behind this taboo.

Many constitutional scholars have pointed out. "The SDF could have been strengthened through broad interpretations of the articles without revising the constitution." In other words, it would be sufficient to continue "constitutional revision through interpretations." If so, why then has this issue of "constitutional revision" been brought up again?

Impatience That "Interpretative Constitutional Revision" Was Too Slow

Some believe that after the prorightist "cyclone" of the LDP, what will follow will be the "overseas dispatch of the SDF." Regarding this, at the recent "U.S.-Japan Seminar," Asao Mihara, chairman of the Security Affairs Research Council of the LDP, advocated revision of the Security Treaty, stating: "Under the present U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, the United States has the predominant responsibility for the defense of Japan, but this one-sided responsibility cannot be continued forever." Since then, the three key LDP officials have informed the U.S. ambassador to Japan that the "Security Treaty will not be revised." Mr. Mihara revealed the following as the basis for his advocating revision of the treaty: "The Persian Gulf defense problem created by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a matter of life and death for Japan. That area is a common defense line for all free countries, including Northeast and Southeast Asia. With the transfer to the Indian Ocean of the U.S. Seventh Fleet for this defense, the protection of the western Pacific should be shared by the various countries in this region. In East Asia, however, Japan is the only country with the potential capability to defend such a wide area. The situation is such that Japan not only should be responsible for the defense of its own islands but also should share the responsibility for overall guarantee of the security of Asian and Pacific regions" (JIYU SHIMPO 9 September). Some of the opposition party members believe that this "points the way for dispatching troops to these areas."

"LDP insiders must recognize that sending SDF troops overseas would be difficult under the system of 'interpretative constitutional revision.' For example, if they bring up legislation concerning the Yasukuni Shrine, the opposition parties will object that it is unconstitutional because it violates the basic principle of separation of state and religion, as guaranteed by the present constitution.

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The LDP probably feels that it has had enough objections by opposition parties about unconstitutionality" (views of an active member of legal circles).

The view that Suzuki's LDP regime is steadily preparing the groundwork toward a rightist tilt is probably correct.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'JAPAN TIMES' ASSESSES JSP FOREIGN POLICY, DEFENSE PLAN

OW301527 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 80 p 14

[Editorial: "JSP's Foreign Policy, Defense Plan"]

[Text] A proposal on foreign policy and defense issues, prepared by a project team of the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), headed by the party's secretary general, Mr Shinnen Tagaya, was submitted to the JSP's Central Executive Committee on Thursday and was accepted.

Along with other proposals, the foreign policy-defense plan is scheduled to be presented to the JSP's convention to begin on December 1.

Entitled "Prospects of Disarmament and Creation of Peace in the 80's--Toward Non-Armament and Non-Alliance and Positive Neutrality," the proposal, in short, seems to represent the JSP's relentless adherence to its past policies. In the light of the many signs that have marked debate on Japan's defense and foreign policy issues in the recent years and months, one might have expected the JSP's position in these areas to have at long last undergone some change.

Yet, such is not the case, it appears. In the section headlined "The Concept of Non-Armament, Non-Alliance and Reality," the report by the project team blandly states: "We must remember that it is impossible for us to defend our country with armed force."

This proposition is based on the following set of arguments.

Firstly, the next war (to involve Japan) will be a nuclear war. Secondly, though the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) can repel an act of aggression of a small scale without external assistance, the destructive capacity of today's conventional weapons used in war is so great that in a war in which our country becomes a battleground it will be impossible to protect the lives of the people.

There are at least two obvious self-contradictions in this set of arguments. It is said that the next war will be inevitably a nuclear war, and yet, the statement refers to conventional weapons used in an act of aggression against Japan, which will be too destructive to even think about defense against them.

Another self-contradiction is found in the statement that "in a war to be fought on our own national land it is impossible to protect the lives of our people."

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This statement is an unwitting admission of the fact that all the wars Japan has fought in the name of "self-defense" during the last 86 years were not fought on our territory, which is, in fact, the reason why Japan was condemned by the rest of the world as an aggressor.

One is tempted to question at this point: "Can we protect the lives of our people if we fought off aggressors in the territory of another country?"

What does the JSP then propose as an alternative to the idea of having no military means of self-defense against aggressors?

The alternative offered by the JSP project committee's report to the use of the SDF as a means of repelling armed attack is hardly convincing. It recommends:

"We ought to build up an environment in which it would be beneficial for other countries to maintain friendly relations with Japan." This is to be achieved "by our winning the respect and trust of the world by non-military means."

Indeed, if such an idealism were practicable, the world would have become a much more comfortable place to live in a long time ago.

In the section titled "The Road to Non-Armament, Non-Alliance and Positive Neutrality," the report argues that the JSP's established policy of "unarmed neutrality" is "not mere idealism" but it has a "practical character." This ideal then is to be achieved, says the report, through three stages.

In the first stage, a positive campaign is to be conducted to safeguard the constitution and gradually reduce the "military expenditure" for the SDF while strengthening "civilian control" over them and establishing "a policy for peace and security."

The second stage will be to "establish a self-reliant and peaceful foreign policy," to rescind the Japan-U.S. security treaty and reduce the scale of the SDF."

In this state, however, attention is to be paid to trends in the public opinion, the rate of progress in the establishment of the foreign policy of peace and neutrality, the degree of stability of the coalition government (to be formed by the present opposition parties), etc.

And finally, in the third stage, the JSP report proposes the issuance of "a declaration of non-armament" for Japan to all other countries of the world to seek their support. At this stage, the SDF's are to be dissolved. [quote marks as published]

The entire plan as proposed by this project committee reads like a dream in the light of the reality of Japan and the world of today. In the first place, the blueprint of "peace and neutrality" cannot be put into practice without the opposition parties, presumably with the JSP, as its nucleus, taking over the government. Yet, such a possibility has been decreasing, not increasing, during the past few years.

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What's more, the ranks of the opposition have been in disarray because of the increasingly discernible trend of some of the parties becoming more friendly to the Liberal-Democratic Party, which enjoys a comfortable majority in the Diet.

Despite these facts, the JSP convention is to take up this project team proposal. What holds our keen interest is how the convention itself will react to it. The way the rank and file of the socialists respond may yet offer suggestions on a more realistic policy the JSP ought to be formulating in the years ahead.

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL

'JAPAN TIMES' VIEWS JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

OW270808 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 26 Nov 80 p 12

[Editorial: "Climate of Japan-Soviet Ties"]

[Text] The second Japan-Soviet round table conference, concluded last week in Moscow, is a demonstration that the two countries, in spite of the recent decline in the warmth of their bilateral relations, still need and can even profit from constructive dialogue.

No one could fault the conference's communique when it says that the growth of good neighborly relations in every field of the Japan-Soviet ties is a key to peace and security in Asia.

The statement also contains a frank expression of concern about the shrinking scope of cooperation between the two countries. The two countries were urged not to magnify areas of discord nor to introduce political differences into other areas of the Japan-Soviet relations.

On several recent occasions, the Soviet Union hinted its readiness to improve the climate of relations with this country, raising the possibility of a meeting in the near future between the two countries' heads of government, among other things.

Yet, basic Soviet attitude remains unchanged when it comes to sensitive issues such as the northern territorial problem, the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan and the Soviet military buildup in the Far East, what the Soviets want Japan to accept is a separation of politics from economics. They wish to see Japan coming forward with new offers for economic cooperation, acquiescing in the shelving of the difficult political issues.

The Soviet Union is no exception to the universal problems of lowered economic growth and of competing demands on the limited economic resources. Its hopes for a breakthrough in and there is no question that Soviet policymakers count on Japanese cooperation in Siberian development under the 11th five-year plan starting next year.

Basic political differences will most probably persist through the 1980's between Japan and the Soviet Union. Further improvement in our own defenses would be necessary if Soviet military power continues to rise in this part of the world. But using our economic leverage to develop relations of interdependence within the limits of prudence could be also conducive to our national security.

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BRIEFS

FACTION WITHIN LDP--International trade and industry minister Rokusuke Tanaka, a long-shot premiership hopeful and rising senior member of Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's faction, now has his own faction under the guise of a "study group" within the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. The new study group, called New Generation Study Group (Shin Sedai Kenkyukai), held its inaugural meeting Thursday night at a Japanese-style restaurant in Akasaka, Tokyo, with 36 liberal-democrats, mostly junior Dietmen, attending. They would meet regularly once a month to study policies, but would not leave Suzuki's faction, a spokesman of the new group said. The members include some from other factions. Tanaka's strong rivalry with chief cabinet secretary Kiichi Miyazawa, who is close to the prime minister, is well known in political circles. Most of the members of the new group are also known for their anti-Miyazawa stance, observers noted. With Tanaka's move for his own faction, it now became clear that the prime minister's faction inherited from the late Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira would be ultimately split at least three ways among Miyazawa, Tanaka, and Finance Minister Michio Watanabe, who is not a Suzuki faction member but enjoys strong support within the faction, in the race to succeed Suzuki as the ruling party leader. [Text] [OW301505 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 80 p 4]

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ECONOMIC

'YOMIURI' VIEWS JAPAN'S FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

OW261002 Tokyo THE DAILY YOMIURI in English 25 Nov 80 p 2

[YOMIURI SHIMBUN 24 November Editorial: "Oda and National Security"]

[Text] Why should Japan increase its Official Development Assistance (ODA) to developing countries? This question is rather difficult to answer. One common answer is that it is an ethical obligation of a rich country to assist poor nations. Another answer to the contrary is that a nation's economic assistance is motivated by its selfish aim of increasing exports to and ensuring resources from developing countries.

The Japanese Government cited various purposes when it extended assistance to developing countries in the past, depending on internal and external conditions.

The purpose of assistance to developing nations was not discussed seriously in the past when the state's financial condition was favorable and the nation did not feel it burdensome to extend economic aid to foreign nations.

The national consensus on economic aid overseas in the past was that Japan direct its surplus economic strength to assisting other nations to fulfill its responsibility for solving the north-south problem. Based on this consensus, Japan's international pledge to double its ODA in a period of three years is now being fulfilled.

But the government finds it difficult to increase further the ODA on such a vague premise because rises in economic aid contradicts the government plan to restructure the state finances. Moreover, any increase in assistance will put extra burden on the people. Under such circumstances, it is difficult for the government to obtain the support of the people unless it clarifies the purpose of the assistance.

It is worthy of note that the foreign ministry report clarifies the purpose of assistance from the viewpoint of the cost Japan has to pay to ensure its comprehensive security.

Not New Concept

It is not a new concept regarding assistance as a powerful means to ensure national security. Although some government reports in the past made reference to this viewpoint, they did not come out as strongly as the latest foreign ministry report.

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The report argues that efforts to promote a peaceful and stable international environment, including a solution to the north-south problem, will lead to ensuring Japan's security in a wide sense. Japan, an economic giant seeking peace, must fulfill its responsibility for that end, the report emphasizes.

We agree with this view. Extension of assistance to countries threatened by conflicts must be regarded as the cost necessary for national security. Relief measures for refugees in Thailand and assistance to Pakistan and Turkey from the viewpoint of cooperating in the West's defense plan are points in case.

Countering Soviet Advance

The demand on Japan to increase its assistance is expected to strengthen in the future. Particularly the demand for Japan's assistance to developing nations will grow with the view of countering the Soviet inroads into the Third World.

The foreign ministry's latest report only refers to the ODA and fails to clarify the relationship between the economic assistance and increase in the defense capability as mentioned in its earlier report in July. The ministry should have mentioned economic cooperation from a wider viewpoint incorporating the vitality of the private sector.

Economic cooperation with the Middle East nations and the Soviet Union goes beyond the scope of the north-south problem, but assistance to these countries is most important from the viewpoint of ensuring national security with economic power.

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'JAPAN TIMES' REVIEWS GOVERNMENT REPORT ON ECONOMIC AID

OW120245 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 11 Dec 80 p 12

[Editorial: "Economic Aid and National Security"]

[Text] Recent discussions in this country on the question of national security show increased awareness of the importance of promoting economic cooperation with the developing countries. Support to socio-economic development in the Third World is widely regarded as essential to the economic security of Japan as well as to world economic stability.

For example, the Council on External Economic Cooperation, in a report submitted to Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki last month, points out that so-called "north-south problems," or the enormous economic difficulties facing the poorer nations, pose a major threat to peace and stability in the world. In order to cope with the threat, the report says, the industrialized democracies should contribute positively to the harmonious development of the international economy.

Here economic cooperation is described as a "central means" of achieving this objective. Japan is expected to play a larger role in this endeavor--for good reasons. With all nations, it depends heavily on external economic exchanges. It is a leading industrial nation with the third largest GNP (after the U.S. and Russia). And it is the first non-Western nation to successfully modernize itself.

Another recent report, by the Foreign Ministry, makes essentially the same point--that economic cooperation holds a key to world peace and stability, and that it serves the long-term interests of Japan. In particular, Official Development Assistance (ODA), government aid such as grants and early-term loans, is characterized as a "cost of building an international order that will ensure Japan's overall security."

Now the White Paper on economic cooperation, published last week by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), has joined in this chorus of "economic security" discussions. Economic cooperation, the report says, is an "effective means" of ensuring the nation's economic security, of protecting the economic life of the Japanese people against external threats.

Five broad directions of cooperation are suggested. First, Japan should further expand ODA to follow up on its current plan to double such assistance in three

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years (1978-80). Second, comprehensive cooperation including not only ODA but also private-level cooperation through trade and investment should be promoted.

Third, Japan should cooperate in ways that would meet the specific needs of individual developing countries which find themselves in widely different stages of development. Fourth, in view of the extremely unstable energy situation in the world, energy development in Third World nations should be encouraged. And finally, Japan should assist in the efforts of those countries to develop their human resources so that they can better help themselves.

All these points are essentially correct, and there seems to be, at least in principle, broad public support for the necessity of increasing ODA on a long-term basis and promoting other forms of economic cooperation. There is indeed a growing awareness, both in and outside the government, that Japan should act more positively to enhance its security. The fact remains, however, that in various important respects our performance in economic cooperation is still far short of what it should be.

Consider ODA for example. Japan still has a long way to go before it can achieve the international target--0.7 percent of the GNP. In 1979 the percentage was only 0.26 percent, which is lower than even the average of 0.35 percent for the 17 donor nations that belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

In the same year Japan provided \$2,640 million worth of ODA, placing fourth among the 17 donors (after the U.S., France and West Germany). Certainly, the three-year plan ending in fiscal 1980 represents a welcome, and positive, contribution. But, in the light of Japan's strong commitment in this area of economic cooperation, actual performance is far from satisfactory, both in terms of volume and as a percentage of the GNP.

Another example of the poor performance in economic cooperation are the setbacks suffered by large-scale development projects in some developing countries. Probably the most striking case is that of the petrochemical project in Iran, which now appears to be on the brink of collapse. The abrupt decision by China to postpone the second stage of the steel project near Shanghai also attests to the great risks involved in such cooperation.

However, none of these and other problems--some of them beyond Japan's control--that are involved in economic cooperation changes the fact that Japan's security in this increasingly interdependent world depends critically on how effectively it can develop and maintain cooperative relations with the developing nations.

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'YOMIURI' VIEWS WHITE PAPER ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION

OW100948 Tokyo THE DAILY YOMIURI in English 9 Dec 80 p 2

[YOMIURI SHIMBUN 8 December editorial: "Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] The white paper on economic cooperation released Friday by the International Trade and Industry Ministry stresses the need for Japan to cooperate in the development of energy sources by nonoil-producing developing countries, for industrially advanced and oil-producing countries to cooperate with each other in helping poor nonoil-producing countries and for Japan to increase assistance to developing nations from the viewpoint of ensuring overall national security. The paper is right in pointing out these requirements but regrettably it lacks concrete proposals.

It is not necessary to emphasize the importance for this country of cooperating in energy development in nonoil-producing countries. Even if energy sources developed with Japan's assistance are not imported into this country, they will contribute to improving the global energy outlook, which will indirectly benefit Japan.

At the recent Japan-China ministerial meeting, China expressed the desire of developing its coal resources and sought Japan's cooperation in this. China plans to export part of the jointly developed coal to Japan to earn foreign currency for its modernization.

Economically speaking, China falls in the category of developing countries. Assistance to China must be assistance for energy development in Third World nations.

The world public opinion is that industrially advanced and oil-producing countries should cooperate in extending assistance to nonoil-producing developing countries. The public opinion, in reality, urges oil producers to play their due role and meet their responsibility befitting their strength in the international community. Since oil-producing states have agreed in principle to cooperate with industrial nations in economic assistance, they are advised to set examples of cooperation.

It has already been established as a national consensus that Japan should carry out its economic cooperation from the viewpoint of ensuring national security. In this respect, top priority should be given to strengthening friendly ties with oil-producing countries.

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In promoting friendly ties with them, Japan should try to make them feel that Japan is an indispensable country for them and establish a relationship of interdependence without which they may stand to lose.

The Japan-Iran joint petrochemical project is one such example. The giant project, undertaken by the Mitsui Group, has come to a standstill because of the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq war. The continuation of the project, which is 85 percent complete, has become a political issue. As things stand now, the future of the project cannot be decided only from financial aspects.

Iran regards the joint petrochemical project as a monument of its revolution. No group of companies in the world other than Misui can complete the project and be responsible for its operation. This symbolizes interdependence between Japan and the oil-producing countries without which the latter are likely to face problems.

The government and the Mitsui Group should make efforts to minimize expenses needed while work on the project remains suspended and must wait patiently for the construction work to resume. If this is impossible, then the government should not assert that economic cooperation is the main measure to ensure Japan's overall security.

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ECONOMIC

JAPAN SETS LONG-TERM NONOIL ENERGY TARGET

OW301533 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 80 p 7

[Text] The government Friday adopted an official target for the non-oil energy supplies to lower Japan's reliance on oil imports from the present 73 percent to 50 percent by the year 1990.

According to the program, coal is projected to supply 17.6 percent of the nation's total primary energy demands in 1990, (or 123 million kiloliters in terms of crude oil), to be followed by nuclear energy with 10.9 percent (76 million kl) and natural gas with 10.1 percent (71 million kl).

Besides, hydroelectric power and geothermal energy are targeted to provide 4.6 percent and 1 percent of the total energy needs, respectively.

Such next-generation energy sources as coal gasification, solar energy and biomass will combine to supply 11.1 percent of the energy needs, thus increasing the share of non-oil energy supplies from 27 percent at present to about 50 percent in 1990.

In drafting the alternative energy supply plan, the government set the volume of oil imports in 1990 at 6.3 million barrels per day, or the ceiling set for 1985 at the Tokyo Economic Summit last year.

Also, the energy supply plan is made to be consistent with the government's seven-year social and economic development plan (1979-1985) which set the nation's economic growth during the period at above 5 percent.

The government's energy officials, however, predicted that the 5 percent economic growth would be maintained during the coming decade even if the volume of oil imports would be lower than the ceiling because energy-saving efforts primarily in industrial sectors were producing better results than expected, they added.

Japan's oil imports for this year, for instance, are likely to be around 5 million barrels daily, or far below the 1980 ceiling of 5.4 million agreed upon at the Tokyo Summit.

Therefore, one senior official of the Natural Resources and Energy Agency said that despite Friday's cabinet decision on it, the long-term energy supply program itself would have to be reviewed sooner or later to adjust to the slower oil demand.

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On the other hand, energy experts and industrial leaders are somewhat skeptical about the feasibility of the government's non-oil energy supply program. Their pessimism primarily stems from the delay in the construction of new nuclear power plants.

According to the government plan, the total output capacities of nuclear powerplants are projected to increase from the present 15 million kilowatts to 51-53 million kilowatts in 10 years.

To attain this target, the number of nuclear powerplants will have to be increased from 21 at present to 55 to 60. Currently only 14 new facilities are either under construction or preparation, however.

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CURRENT ACCOUNT SUFFERS DEFICIT IN NOVEMBER

OW171351 Tokyo JIJI in English 1331 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 17 Dec (JIJI PRESS)--Japan's current account produced a 610 million-dollar deficit in November, much larger than a 73 million-dollar loss in the preceding month, the Finance Ministry announced in a preliminary report Wednesday.

But the overall balance of payments swung back into the black yielding a large 1,350 million-dollar surplus in a turnabout from October's 1,080 million-dollar deficit thanks to a brisk net inflow of long- and short-term capital.

The merchandise trade balance was favorable by 560 million dollars owing to a fall in crude oil and other imports.

But the invisible trade and transfer accounts showed a conspicuous red-ink figure of 1,170 million dollars as the overseas investments account posted a net outflow of 16 million dollars compared with a 341 million-dollar inflow in the previous month.

The long-term capital transactions chalked up a 100 million-dollar net inflow thanks to foreigners' active investments in Japanese stocks (790 million dollars) and corporate bonds (510 million dollars) as well as the "Gensaki" market, a short-term bond market here, (503 million dollars).

This largely contributed to the halving of the deficit in the basic account, combining the current account and the long-term capital account, to 510 million dollars.

The short-term capital account, and errors and omissions combined were in the black by a substantial 1,860 million dollars due mainly to increased trade credits as well as Tokyo's receipt of collateral funds from the International Development Association (IDA) in return for its contribution worth 600 million dollars in the form of national bonds.

The ministry predicted Japan's current account will most likely turn into the black in December, noting the month usually witnesses a seasonal rise in exports.

The nation's external balance of payments will continue to improve for some time to come, it added.

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MINISTRY WHITE PAPER: JAPAN'S COMMUNICATIONS REACH 'TURNING POINT'

OW020223 Tokyo KYODO in English 0206 GMT 2 Dec 80

[Text] Tokyo Dec 2 KYODO--The Posts and Telecommunications Ministry said Tuesday that the present communication system has reached a turning point and stressed the need to cope with the advent of a new communication media age.

In the annual White Paper on communications, the ministry said such basic communication media as postal and telephone systems already have reached the phase of maturity.

It said, however, remarkable development was made in recent years in new communication systems, including facsimile, data and space communication.

In view of this, it said the country is now faced at a turning point as to the communication media.

The White Paper noted that experiments were started in Tokyo last December on the character and pattern telephone access information network system (captains) in which phone circuits are utilized for display on TV sets in private households information related to news reports, weather and leisure events.

The White Paper said the value of production of facsimile gadgets and the number of such sets installed in the country increased some 10 folds during the past 10 years.

Future problems to be solved include standardization of the facsimile transmission formula and development of low-priced terminal equipment, it said.

It said the number of data communication systems linking computers and communication circuits increased some 15 times in the past eight years. Such systems are utilized mainly by banks and enterprises, it said.

The White Paper said revenues of communication services in fiscal 1979, including posts and telecommunications, totaled yen 5.78 trillion, a 6.8 percent increase from the previous year reflecting the recovery in business.

It said the number of domestic postal items handled by post offices in the past fiscal year totaled 15.2 billion, up 6.8 percent from the previous year, while the number of telephones installed increased 3.7 percent to 37.8 million.

The White Paper also said the number of TV-viewing contracts concluded with the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) increased 1.9 percent to 28.9 million.

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ECONOMIC

BRIEFS

AID TO BOLIVIA--Tokyo 29 Nov KYODO--Japan will extend to the Bolivian Government grand aid up to yen 500 million for improving medical facilities in rural areas and yen 300 million to increase food production, the foreign ministry announced Saturday. Notes to this effect were exchanged in La Paz Friday (Saturday Japan time) between Japanese Ambassador Eikichi Hayashiya and Javier Cerruto Calderon de la Barca, Bolivian minister of external relations. The food production aid will go to the "Beni and Pando Plains Small-Scale Farmers Aid Project," the announcement said. [Text] [OW020111 Tokyo KYODO in English 0521 GMT 29 Nov 80]

AID TO GUYANA--Tokyo 27 Nov KYODO--Japan will give a grant-in-aid up to yen 250 million to Guyana for a drainage and irrigation project to increase food production, the foreign ministry said Thursday. It said notes to this effect were exchanged in Georgetown Wednesday between Japanese Ambassador Yutaka Nomura and Leslie Johnson, permanent secretary of the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperatives of Guyana. [Text] [OW020111 Tokyo KYODO in English 0345 GMT 27 Nov 80]

USSR PIPELINE PROJECT--The government has notified the United States of its decision to extend easy-term credits to the Soviet Union to help finance the \$10 billion West Siberia-Europe natural gas pipeline project, government sources said Saturday. The decision has also been transmitted to the Soviet Government through the Export-Import Bank of Japan, the sources said. The sources said the Soviets have placed with Japan an inquiry for about \$3 billion worth of equipment and materials for use in the 5,000-km pipeline construction project. The credit is to be given to the Soviet Bank for Foreign Trade by the Governmental Export-Import Bank. The Japanese Government had refused to give new credits to the Soviet Union in support of the U.S. economic sanctions against the Soviets following their invasion of Afghanistan last December. Under inquiry from the Soviet Union, according to the NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN, are: 4.5 to 5 million metric tons of large-diameter steel pipes for transportation of natural gas; 2.6 million tons of oil well pipes; 35 to 40 pumping stations; two or three gas-refining facilities and 700 to 1,000 bulldozers. The steel pipes are estimated to be worth \$2 billion. [Text] [OW011616 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 30 Nov 80 p 1]

AID TO ZAIRE--Tokyo, 3 Dec (JIJI Press)--The government will extend 400 million yen (about two million dollars) in grant aid to Zaire for increased food production and a social welfare expansion project. Notes on the grant were exchanged in Kinshasa Wednesday between Toshio Oshima, Japanese ambassador there, and Dulia Yubasa Lengema, state commissioner for foreign affairs and international cooperation. Japan also exchanged notes with the African nation the same day on another grand aid--600 tons of skim milk worth up to 200 million yen (about one million dollars). This forms part of an effort to dispose of skim milk now in overproduction. [Text] [OW040107 Tokyo JIJI in English 1309 GMT 3 Dec 80]

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AID TO WESTERN SAMOA--Tokyo 21 Nov KYODO--Japan will extend to Western Samoa a grant aid up to yen 100 million for its project to improve the nutrition of its people, the foreign ministry announced Friday. Notes on the aid were exchanged Friday in Wellington between Takashi Oyamada, Japanese ambassador to New Zealand (concurrently ambassador to Western Samoa), and Feesago Fepuleai, high commissioner of Western Samoa to New Zealand, it said. [Text] [OW211303 Tokyo KYODO in English 0829 GMT 21 Nov 80]

TRADING HOUSE SALES RECORDS--Tokyo 20 Nov KYODO--All of the 9 major Japanese trading houses recorded their highest half-yearly sales in the 6-month period ended 30 September, the nine announced Thursday. According to interim income statements published by the 9 firms, their sales in the half-year totaled about yen 35 trillion (about dollar 167 billion), up 28 percent from the like period last year. Mitsubishi Corp., Mitsui and Co. and seven other companies attributed the steep increase chiefly to the soaring prices of crude oil, appreciable rises in the prices of steel products and chemical goods, and a significant increase in auto and machinery exports. The top-ranking trading houses, whose energy division carries heavy weight, reported a steep gain in their current profits (profit before extraordinary items). The remaining companies, whose main lines of business are lumber, marine products and textiles, reported either a moderate gain or an appreciable fall in their current profits. The 9 firms' operating profits jumped by 62.1 percent, whereas their net profits were up by only 6.3 percent, reflecting their sharply increased burden. [OW211303 Tokyo KYODO in English 1228 GMT 20 Nov 80]

AID TO MADAGASCAR--Tokyo 25 Nov KYODO--Japan will extend up to yen 300 million (about dollar 1.43 million) in grant aid to Madagascar to provide fertilizer and agricultural machinery for increased food production, the foreign ministry said Tuesday. It said notes on the aid were exchanged in Antananarivo Tuesday by Japanese Ambassador Kazuhiko Rurusawa and Madagascar Foreign Minister Remi Christian Richard. [Text] [OW251617 Tokyo KYODO in English 1127 GMT 25 Nov 80]

AID TO GHANA--Tokyo 1 Dec KYODO--Official notes, calling for Japan to extend yen 240 million in grant aid to Ghana, were exchanged Monday in Accra, the foreign ministry announced. The announcement said yen 200 million was to buy U.S. wheat, with the rest covering its transport and insurance. The notes were exchanged between Kazumi Dekiba, Japanese charge d'affaires and interim to Ghana, and Ghana Foreign Minister Dr Isaac Kodwo Chinebuah. [Text] [OW020041 Tokyo KYODO in English 0715 GMT 1 Dec 80]

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TEST OF SATELLITE-FIRING ROCKET SET FOR NEXT YEAR

OW141125 Tokyo THE JAPAN TIMES in English 13 Dec 80 p 2

[Text] The National Space Development Agency will test for the first time next year a domestically-developed rocket for practical use in launching satellites.

The 10 billion yen rocket, codenamed N-2, is 35 meters long, and weighs 135 tons. It will be fired from the agency's Tanegashima Space Center in Kagoshima Prefecture on February 4.

Featuring a high-sensibility, flight-controlling inertia guidance device installed at the second stage of the three-stage rocket, it has satellite-launching capacity some 2.5 times that of the present N-type rocket.

The satellite Himawari, now used for weather observation, and the experimental communications satellite Sakura were launched by U.S. rockets because they were too heavy for Japanese rockets.

If the planned test proves successful, the agency plans to launch a second static meteorological observation satellite, similar to Himawari, next summer.

Meanwhile, the University of Tokyo's Aerospace Institute will launch the seventh scientific observation satellite with a MU-type rocket from the Uchinoura Aerospace Observatory on February 26.

The satellite, Astro-A, is aimed at making precise observation of the explosion phenomena on the surface of the sun whose activities become most active between late this year and early next year.

These plans were approved Wednesday by the space development committee, the nation's supreme decision-making body in this field.

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SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

CCV PROTOTYPE CONSTRUCTION TO START IN 1981

Tokyo KOKU JANARU in Japanese No 92, Apr 80 p 65

[Text] The improved maneuverability which originated in the 1979 budget is beginning its second year.

This CCV research plane is to have electrical control devices using "fly-by-wire" technology in place of the traditional mechanical controls, and it is fitted with aerial warfare flaps, horizontal Canard fins and a vertical Canard fin. This will allow the aircraft unprecedented maneuverability. Traditionally when a target is to one side, the course is corrected with the aircraft inclined to that side, and it has been difficult to respond if attacked at such a time. But the CCV, when used as a fighter, will be able to slip sideways while remaining horizontal. Moreover, when attacking surface targets it has been necessary to dive toward the target and pull up after the attack, but the CCV will have the advantage of being able to fly horizontally while the nose of the plane is downward, and thus to make successive attacks on a series of targets.

The first real order for the CCV research will soon begin with a contract with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries totalling 3.4 billion yen, but fiscal 1979 and 1980 will be spent in the fabrication and testing of the remodeled sections.

The fabrication of a plane incorporating the results of this research is apparently to begin in 1981. The prototype will be a T-2 borrowed from the Air Self Defense Force and fitted with two horizontal Canard fins above the air intakes forward of the wings and a vertical Canard fin below the central section of the fuselage. Aerial warfare flaps will be installed on the leading and trailing edges of the wings. Control will be through three fly-by-wire systems, but it will also be possible to switch to operation using the existing mechanical controls.

The work of remodeling will take about 18 months beginning in fiscal 1981. If there are no problems it will be completed in the fall or winter of 1982 and the CCV research plane will make its first flight. After the maiden flight, testing will begin. About 2 years of flight tests, primarily by the Air Proving Wing of the Air Self Defense Force, are expected.

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